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often express affection most easily toward their dogs and other favorite animals.

The limited expression of affection in Tepoztlán is part of a larger pattern whereby what might be called the positive emotions—love, tenderness, kindness, sympathy, generosity, and joy—are less easily expressed and not as well developed as the negative ones, such as anger, hate, irritability, fear, jealousy, and envy. One of our informants with more insight than most Tepoztecans succinctly described the lack of warmth and positive emotion by saying, "Somos muy secos," that is, "We are dry." This is related to their general world view and their conception of human beings, both of which tend to stimulate negative emotional responses.

There is a readiness to view people as potentially dangerous, and the most characteristic initial reaction to others is suspicion and distrust. Lack of trust is not only present among non-relatives but also exists within families and affects the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, and brothers and sisters. This is not a neurotic distrust, but one rooted in the hard realities of Tepoztecan social and economic life, in patterns of child-training, and in a long history of conquest, colonial status, and internal and external political and economic exploitation. In Tepoztlán, the motives of everyone are suspected, from the highest public officials of the nation, to the local priest, and even to close relatives. It is assumed that anyone in a position of power will use it to his own advantage at the expense of others. Honest government or leadership is considered an impossibility; altruism is not understood. The frank, direct person, if he exists anywhere in Tepoztlán, is considered naive or the greatest rogue of all, so powerful or shameless as to have no need to conceal his deeds or thoughts. An individual who is obliging without cost to those who seek his aid is understood to have some as yet unrevealed plan for capitalizing on his position.

Friendships, as defined in terms of mutual trust, loyalty, aid, and affection directed toward one individual are few in Tepoztlán, and are avoided rather than sought. Friendship as such is not a Tepoztecan ideal and is not institutionalized in the form of a best friend or in any other way. Cases of lifelong friendships are rare and are almost always limited to the more acculturated families. Friends are viewed by adults as potential enemies, as a source of trouble, and as a waste of time. Traditionally women and girls are not supposed to have any friends whatsoever. While one may have friendly relations with individuals in Tepoztlán, these relations are segmented in that each is limited to one or two purposes. With one individual, there may be a work exchange relationship; with another, a borrowing relationship; and with others, a drinking relationship.

An exception to this is a type of friendship among men and youths known as the *cuate*, which means "twins."[8] These are more in the nature of close alliances made between two or more individuals of the same age group for a more generalized companionship. The *cuate* is depended upon for loyalty and defense in time of trouble, for political support, and for companionship in drinking, in

[8] The *cuate* is not traditional in Tepoztlán, having been introduced by soldiers from outside during the Revolution.

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romantic undertakings, and in fiestas. The *cuate* is not expected to aid in domestic or economic difficulties, although he may do so. The *cuate* relationship is frequently stabilized and formalized after marriage by being turned into a *compadre* relationship at the birth of a *cuate's* child. In this way, a comparatively intimate alliance is short lived and gives way to a more formal respect-relationship.

There is a great deal of hostility in inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán. But much of this hostility is suppressed, or expressed indirectly in the form of malicious gossip, stealing, secretive destruction of property, ridicule, deprecation and envy and sorcery.

A particularly interesting example of the Tepoztecan attitude that aggression in inter-personal relations should not be expresied directly is the widespread use of *indirectas*, which are criticisms indirectly expressed. These take various forms such as criticism by allusion, self-deprecation, use of the diminutive in a cutting way, and belittlement. Whenever these are used, it is immediately understood that insult is intended. For example, one man addressing another who had boasted of being the undisputed head of his household, said, "I don't rule in my house but everything is in order. Others say they are very manly, but if they only knew enough to look around they would find their wife with another man."

The following conversation between two women further illustrates the *indirecta*. The first woman is a prosperous storekeeper who is very pious but whose children have turned out "bad," according to other villagers. Recently, one of her daughters was almost dragged off by her sweetheart, but she managed to escape leaving him holding her *rebozo*. The second woman in this conversation is the wife of a prosperous farmer and is known to be ambitious to educate her children. Three of them have scholarships and are studying at a public school to become school teachers.

The first woman said, "I will educate my daughters but not for four years like other people so that they can come here and get jobs as little teachers."

The second woman answered, "The rich can send their children to the best schools. We are poor and cannot afford it. I hope God helps you in all you desire."

First woman, continuing, "And I won't let my daughter work like some because it is dangerous for a girl to be away from her parents."

Thereupon the second woman said, "As much as people guard their daughters I notice that they elope or have their *rebozos* taken from them. Some people swallow saints and defecate devils."

Other examples of common *indirectas* are: "They are a little rich and now have a little calf, but before, they knew how to steal." "They say they eat very well, but I notice that they are as skinny as I." Another type of *indirecta* is the generalization meant to apply to someone present. For example, a young schoolteacher who took pride in wearing stylish clothing appeared one day in a new-style skirt. She joined a group of other teachers, whereupon one of them said loudly that she heartily disliked the new styles and would not wear one of them for anything. The young girl turned pale and immediately left the group.

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husbands and wives, a young wife often addressed her older husband in *Vd.*, while he used *tú* to her.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship may also exist between employer and employee, particularly if the latter is younger and is well known to the employer. However, if an employer addresses an older employee in the familiar form, it is a sign of lack of respect and is taken to be an insult. When both persons are of the same age and are not strangers, they address each other in the familiar form.

In pre-Revolutionary days it was customary for wealthy *caciques* to address the rest of the population as *tú*, regardless of age, and to be addressed as *Vd.* Today, wealth plays a minimal role in the *Vd.-tú* relationship, in part because of the absence of sharp class differences, in part because of the humble origins of many of the present well-to-do. The memory of the deep hostility and fierce vengeance of the subordinate population toward the *caciques* is also a deterrent in taking advantage of higher economic status.

Men holding political office or political ambitions are generally careful to avoid the *Vd.-tú* relationship with other adults for fear of offending. They prefer the *Vd.-Vd.* relationship, for they seek many *compadres*, or the *tú-tú* relationship in which they acknowledge friendship or acquaintance with most people of their own age group. However, local officials tend to speak condescendingly in the *Vd.-tú* relationship to more humble Tepoztecans, as well as to people from outlying villages, regardless of their age. This attitude of arrogance on the part of the officials and respect for the authorities on the part of the general population is carried over from pre-Revolutionary days, as is the notion that to speak to the local president in the familiar *tú* adds to an individual's importance. However, within Tepoztlán proper, officials no longer dare to express superiority of status to the majority of the adult inhabitants. Only the priest and nuns maintain an *Vd.-tú* relationship with the rest of the population.

The *tú-tú* relationship is an intimate one and is used between husband and wife, sweethearts, and children. It is also used between two people of the same sex and of approximately the same age. However, in Tepoztlán this *tú-tú* relationship does not always imply intimacy, but rather the possibility of intimacy. Thus, it is from the same age group that the *cuates*, drinking companions, singing companions, and so on, are drawn; but for the rest, the *tú-tú* relationship may be almost as reserved and formal as *Vd.-Vd.* In this, Tepoztlán and other rural villages differ from the city where the use of *tú-tú* is reserved for only the most intimate friends, all others of the same age being addressed as *Vd.*

At least among the school children and older students there is a tendency toward urban usage of *tú* and *Vd.*, that is, the custom of having fewer but more intimate *tú* relationships and a greater number of *Vd.* relationships. Traditionally in Tepoztlán, although members of the same sex and age group continue to call each other *tú*, there is a marked withdrawal from intimate relations as they get older and particularly after marriage. The *tú-tú* relationship is undoubtedly a potentially dangerous one to continue, because of the equality of status and the possibility of

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According to our older informants some brides did not submit to their husbands and had to be forced to do so. In one case a thirteen-year-old girl fought off her husband for six nights. Several times she ran out of the house to evade him. He finally became embarrassed and tied her hands behind her and forced himself upon her. Another girl left her husband permanently, because he forced her to submit to him for the first time in a field. But these stories apply more to the older generation. The young people in Tepoztlán today have many more opportunities for premarital contacts with the opposite sex and are generally familiar with the details of sexual relations by the time they marry.

Tepoztecan men are, for the most part, suspicious and distrustful of their wives and believe that they are capable of being unfaithful to them at the first opportunity. Men are unanimous in the belief that women must be kept under strict surveillance and control. The adulterous activities of men reinforce this attitude toward women. "I see how easily other women fool their husbands, my wife can, too." To insure his wife's loyalty the husband seeks to isolate her from outsiders.

When the couple lives with the husband's family for several years, it is relatively easy to guard the wife; but when there is early separation from the parental home, the husband is deprived of an important source of security. It is common for husbands in this position to ask the cooperation of relatives, neighbors, and friends in watching over his wife when she is left alone. As a result of these spies, some husbands know, in any given day, exactly when their wives went out and returned, with whom they spoke, and for how long.

Wives are generally forbidden to have female friends and most women discontinue all friendships at the time of marriage. Husbands view such friends as potential arrangers or go-betweens for the wife and a lover. Men frequently drop their own friends after marriage or do not encourage them to visit for fear that some intimacy might develop between the wife and the friend. The majority of husbands are suspicious of any activities which take the wife away from home. During the first few years of marriage, most wives are not permitted to leave the house unaccompanied. In cases where young couples live alone, the wife will prefer to ask a neighbor or a relative to make purchases for her, rather than risk her husband's anger or the gossip of others by going to the market alone. Although some young wives now go out alone, they are considered suspect by others.

When a woman leaves the house she is expected to return in the shortest possible time; any delay on her part may earn her a sound scolding or beating. Gossiping with other women is discouraged and sometimes punished. Most husbands do not approve of their wives going to wash clothing at the public washing place for fear they will gossip and learn "bad things" from other women. However, the burden some task of hauling water to do the washing at home serves to keep most husbands from banning the public washing place.

The suspiciousness and jealousy of some husbands is extreme. There are cases of wife-beating merely because the husband saw a man standing at the street corner near the house and suspected him of being his wife's lover. If a wife's work is not

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in attitudes and values and in the quality of interpersonal relations. It is too early to tell how deeply these changes have affected the ethos and character of the villagers, but all signs point in the direction of more profound changes to follow. In 1956, Tepoztecans seemed on the whole more outgoing and friendly and less bothered by the presence of outsiders. Children were noisier and smiled more; they were as apt to run toward as away from a stranger. Indeed, they begged tourists for centavos. Small groups of unchaperoned adolescent girls laughing and talking together were not unusual sights, and occasionally a village girl might be seen walking side by side with a boy in broad daylight. In general, the villagers were more accepting of their sophisticated members and provincialism seemed to be on the wane. There was more competition for jobs and scholarships and in general display.

That Tepoztecans have more drive and ambition for self-improvement is obvious. The young people are restless and have found the courage to leave the village to look for better opportunities. They are making greater demands on their parents for education, and they have more confidence in and more ability to cooperate with people outside the family over longer periods of time. Friendship not based on formal reciprocal relationships has become increasingly important; *compadrazgo* has assumed a new significance in providing connections and social advantages. Material success and a higher standard of living are consciously admired and worked for and the motivation to hide wealth is weaker. Respect has come to be based more and more on wealth and social status. Education imparts higher status; a young man or woman who has a teacher's certificate expects to be treated more respectfully by his or her elders. The middle class, especially, feel that status is also gained by discarding folk beliefs and practices and becoming more Catholic.

It is apparent, then, that Tepoztlán has made great strides ahead in the past fifteen years. The changes have been uneven, however, and not all the sectors of the population have equally benefited. Faced with limited agricultural resources, low yields, an absence of irrigation, and little prospect of solving their agricultural problems through mechanization, the villagers have by-passed their agrarian problem and have instead become dependent on new occupations and on jobs outside the village.

Most of the changes in the village are enjoyed by the middle economic group which even in 1943 had shown the most initiative and interest in raising its level of living. This group has doubled in size and now constitutes about 25 percent of the total population. Moreover, it is no longer merely an economic group; it is emerging rather as a true middle class, consisting of professionals, white-collar employees, and self-employed artisans and shopkeepers whose values and goals have come to differ substantially from those of the peasantry. The sharpening cleavage between the middle and lower economic groups, between peasant and nonpeasant, is perhaps the most far-reaching and significant change in the village.

Although the lower economic group is proportionately smaller than it was in 1943, it still constitutes the great majority of the villagers—approximately 65 percent. Our data suggest that this group has become even poorer, both because of inflation and because its members have been deprived of a tradi-